

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 01177 151109Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
TRSE-00 SAJ-01 /059 W  
-----151202Z 046417 /23 10

R 141250Z FEB 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9001  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 1177

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, SP  
SUBJECT: PP OFFICIAL ON THE PP CONGRESS, GENERAL POLITICAL TOPICS

REF: MADRID 979

1. IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF A PARTIDO  
POPULAR OFFICIAL CLOSE TO PIO CABANILLAS SAID THE ELECTION  
OF PARTY OFFICIALS, SURELY THE MOST IMPORTANT ACTION  
TAKEN BY IN THE RECENT PARTY CONGRESS (REFTEL), HAD  
WORKED OUT JUST ABOUT RIGHT FOR PARTY INTERESTS. THE  
PRINCIPAL OFFICIALS REPRESENTED THE PRINCIPAL PARTY  
CURRENTS, EMILIO ATTAR FOR THE REGIONAL GROUPS, JOSE LUIS  
ALVAREZ FOR TACITO, AND JUAN ANTONIO ORTEGA FOR "HIS OWN  
SUI GENERIS CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY." (ORTEGA, ALSO A TACITO  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 01177 151109Z

FIGURE, IS CLOSE TO FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA). AS FOR THE TOP  
TWO, HE SAID, "PIO IS PIO AND AREILZA IS AREILZA."

2. THERE WAS AGREEMENT BEFOREHAND THAT CABANILLAS WOULD  
BE PRESIDENT, WITH AREILZA RECOGNIZING CABANILLAS' MORE  
ACTIVE ROLE IN THE FORMATION OF THE PARTY AND CONFIDENT  
THAT TAKING THE SECOND SLOT WOULD NOT DIMINISH EITHER

HIS STATURE OR HIS VISIBILITY. AREILZA TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE HAD PREFERRED CABANILLAS AS PRESIDENT. IN THIS WAY CABANILLAS WOULD HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATING WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WHILE HE (AREILZA) WOULD BE FREER FOR POLITICAL CONTACTS AND FOREIGN TRAVEL. NONETHELESS, WE JUDGE THERE WAS A RELUCTANCE WITHIN THE PP AND AMONG THE GOVT MINISTERS (OSORIO, OREJA, ET AL) TO HAVE AREILZA IN THE TOP SLOT AND THAT THE PRIME MINISTER WOULD HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY UNCOMFORTABLE WITH AREILZA AS HEAD OF THE PP, REMEMBERING ALL THE BAD THINGS AREILZA SAID ABOUT HIM BEFORE POLITICAL REALITIES MOVED AREILZA TOWARDS A RECONCILIATION.

3. THE OFFICIAL EXPRESSED FLAT OPPOSITION TO THE IDEA THAT THE NEW CORTES SHOULD SIMPLY WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION AND THEN QUICKLY DISSOLVE ITSELF FOR NEW ELECTIONS, NOTING THAT THE COUNTRY COULD ILL AFFORD TWO GENERAL ELECTIONS WITHIN A SHORT PERIOD, ESPECIALLY WITH ECONOMIC MEASURES SO DESPERATELY NEEDED. HE REJECTED THE IDEA AS ONE BEING PUSHED BY THE PSOE BECAUSE IT KNOWS IT WILL LOSE THE NEXT ELECTIONS, CANNOT SAY SO OUT LOUD, AND THUS NEEDS TO SPREAD THE THOUGHT THAT OTHER ELECTIONS WOULD FOLLOW SHORTLY. IN FACT THE IDEA IS FAR FROM LIMITED TO THE PSOE, BEING SHARED BY SOME SENIOR MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT, SOME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, INCLUDING FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ, WHO RECENTLY JOINED THE PP-LED CENTRO DEMOCRATICO. (THE PP, WHICH EXPECTS TO DO BEST IN THE NEXT ELECTIONS, ALSO HAS PRAGMATIC REASONS FOR WANTING THE NEXT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 01177 151109Z

CORTES TO ENDURE.)

4. WHAT WAS MOST NEEDED, IN THE OFFICIALS'S VIEW, WAS A WAY FOR SUAREZ TO RUN FOR OFFICE: HE NOW STOOD SO FAR ABOVE ANY OF HIS MINISTERS THAT THE SITUATION WAS REMINISCENT OF FRANCO TWENTY YEARS AGO. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF SOME ONE (SUCH AS AREILZA) WERE TO BE ELECTED TO THE CORTES WITH A SUBSTANTIAL VOTE AT THE HEAD OF A GROUP WITH APPRECIABLE REPRESENTATION IN THE CORTES, IT WOULD TEND TO PLACE THAT LEADER (BACKED BY THE PEOPLE) IN OPPOSITION TO SUAREZ (BACKED BY THE KING), A SITUATION TO BE AVOIDED. THE OFFICIAL NOTED THERE WERE VARIOUS POSSIBLE WAYS FOR SUAREZ TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMIZATION, INCLUDING INSERTING HIMSELF IN THE CORTES RACE AT THE LAST MINUTE. THE MODALITIES, OF COURSE, DEPENDED ON HOW THE ELECTORAL LAW CAME OUT. (IN OUR VIEW, THE CENTRO DEMOCRATICO, WITH THE PP IN THE LEAD, STANDS TO DO WELL IN ANY EVENT, BUT WOULD UNDENIABLY DO BETTER WITH SUAREZ ON ITS TICKET.)

5. REGARDING THE PCE, THE OFFICIAL REITERATED HIS THOUGHT THAT "AN ILLEGAL PCE IS A PROBLEM FOR ALL OF US, A LEGAL ONE IS A PROBLEM ONLY FOR THE PSOE." LEGALIZATION OF THE PCE, HE THOUGHT, WOULD ALSO HAVE THE UTILITY OF PUSHING THE PSOE BACK TOWARD ITS NATURAL CONSTITUENCY, THE NON-COMMUNIST LEFT, AND AWAY FOR RADICALIZATION. THE OFFICIAL ALSO BELIEVED THAT JURIDICAL APPRECIATION OF THE PCE'S LEGALITY WOULD UPHOLD IT: ALTHOUGH THE CORTES HAD SOUGHT TO COME UP WITH A PHRASE IN THE LAW AIMED DIRECTLY AT THE PCE, THE PHRASE, HE THOUGHT, WAS SIMPLY NOT APPLICABLE. (IT BARS ASSOCIATION WHICH, "SUBMITTED TO AN INTERNATIONAL DICIPLINE, PROPOSE TO IMPLANT A TOTALITARIAN SYSTEM"). STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL PARTIES, ELECTIONS, POLITICAL LEADERS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 14-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977MADRID01177  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770053-0577  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MADRID  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770245/aaaabnix.tel  
**Line Count:** 130  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 13f76dc7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 77 MADRID 979  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3329172  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PP OFFICIAL ON THE PP CONGRESS, GENERAL POLITICAL TOPICS  
**TAGS:** PINT, SP  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/13f76dc7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009